

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 1082

EXDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USNMR SHAPE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR TU CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS AND THE FUTURE COURSE OF US-TURKISH
RELATIONS

REF: ANKARA 886

1. I HAVE JUST RECEIVED A COPY OF ANKARA'S VERY IMPORTANT
AND THOUGHTFUL MESSAGE (REFTEL AND WISH TO CONTRIBUTE
SOME IMMEDIATE OBSERVATIONS FROM ATHENS FOR WHAT-
EVER VALUE THEY MAY HAVE. I AGREE WITH ALMOST ALL
OF THAT MESSAGE'S OVERALL ANALYSIS AND ASSESSMENT,
AND I SHARE AMBASSADOR MACOMBER'S CONCERN THAT THE
USG, IN ALL ITS PARTS, MAY SOON HAVE TO FACE AND
DECIDE THE FINAL KEY QUESTION IN HIS TELEGRAM
CONCERNING OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY.

2. IN THAT MESSAGE ANKARA SUGGESTS THAT IT MAY NOW
BE TIME TO CONSIDER OFFERING A FULL-TIME US
INTERMEDIARY TO SHUTTLE AMONG THE THREE
CAPITALS IN ORDER TO HELP BRING ABOUT A CYPRUS
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SETTLEMENT. IN WEIGHING THIS POSSIBILITY SEVERAL

CONSIDERATIONS MUST BE BORNE IN MIND. FIRST, ANY CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAT CAN BE ACHIEVED WILL BE VERY UNPOPULAR WITH THE GREEKS. IT WILL ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY REQUIRE A SIGNIFICANT PULL-BACK FROM THE PRESENT TURKISH POSITIONS, TERRITORIALY AND POLITICALLY, ON THE ISLAND ITSELF -- NOT LIKELY TO WIN POPULARITY POINTS AMONG TURKS EITHER. USING A PROMINENT AMERICAN INTERMEDIARY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS WILL PUT US INEVITABLY INTO THE MIDDLE OF THEIR CROSSFIRE, WITH MANY OF OUR INTERESTS BEING FURTHER INJURED IN BOTH MAJOR COUNTRIES -- NOT TO MENTION ON CYPRUS ITSELF.

3. THEREFORE, IN MY VIEW, WE SHOULD RESORT TO SUCH AN INTERMEDIARY ONLY IF (1) ON BALANCE, OUR OVERALL INTERESTS WOULD SUFFER MORE BY THE ABSENCE OF A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAN BY THE PRESENT UNRESOLVED SITUATION, OR, (2) THERE WAS NO BETTER WAY TO ASSURE A SETTLEMENT THAN BY EMPLOYING A US INTERMEDIARY. ON THE FIRST POINT, MY JUDGEMENT IS THAT OUR INTERESTS IN GREECE ALONE ARE AND WILL BE -- FOR AT LEAST A WHILE LONGER -- BETTER SERVED BY DOING EXACTLY WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING TO PRODUCE A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT, WITHOUT A US INTERMEDIARY TRYING TO TAKE OVER. OF COURSE, I RECOGNIZE THAT THE OPPOSITE MAY BE TRUE AS FAR AS TURKEY IS CONCERNED.

4. ON THE SECOND POINT, I BELIEVE THERE MAY YET BE A BETTER WAY. WHY CAN'T THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT ACCEPT A SETTLEMENT THAT PROVIDES FOR TWO ZONES ON THE ISLAND, WITH A TURKISH ZONE OF AT LEAST REPEAT AT LEAST 25 PERCENT IN THE BEST, NORTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND, AND WITH VERY LOOSE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POWERS? THAT IS WHAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAS ASKED THROUGH A VARIETY OF CHANNELS AND INNUMERABLE TIMES. IT IS A QUESTION THAT ONLY THE TURKS CAN ANSWER, BUT THEIR FAILURE TO MOVE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT ON THESE LINES UNDOUBTEDLY LEADS THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE LARGER AMBITIONS.

5. THUS, I THINK THAT WHAT IS REQUIRED -- AND MUCH
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TO BE PREFERRED FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW -- IS FOR THE TURKS TO ACCEPT AS THE BASIS REPEAT BASIS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT WHAT SEEMS TO ME A REASONABLE OFFER BY THE GREEKS. NEXT WEEK IN WASHINGTON -- IF, AS I HOPE, CAGLAYANGIL'S VISIT IS MAINTAINED -- SHOULD PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO TRY AND ACCOMPLISH THIS. UNTIL THE TURKS HAVE CONVINCED US THAT THEY ARE TRULY READY TO SETTLE I THINK IT WOULD

BE A MISTAKE FOR US TO DISPATCH A FULL-TIME US INTERMEDIARY.
AND EVEN SO, I THINK OUR OVERALL INTERESTS WOULD BE
BETTER SERVED IF THE UN SYG OR SOMEONE ELSE COULD
PLAY THAT ROLE WHEN THE TIME COMES. KUBISCH

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED USMNR SHAPE.

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